

Police cause lasting trauma

The Health Promotion Forum recently hosted workshops on Indigenous Rights and Health Promotion with activist and lawyer Moana Jackson. He cited the October 15th raids as an example of the many ways in which people can be made unwell. These raids, he said, were an example of how the police, as the coercive arm of the state, infringe upon people's rights. This creates trauma, making people unwell.

The damage done to innocent people during the State terror raids has not been measured. Moana's focus has been on the people of Rūātoki where armed, balaclava-clad police set up roadblocks, locking down the entire community. Some of the police action was provocative, and some was an absolute infringement of basic rights.

The people of Tūhoe, like most iwi, have a history of being dispossessed and oppressed by the crown. The scorched earth policy of the 1860s entailed the crown torching the Rūātoki Valley.

Tūhoe decided that at the arrival of the Waitangi Tribunal 2005, they would re-enact the scorched earth policy of the 1860s. They took the Tribunal members out of their cars and had them travel by cart—a cart the colonial militia used to take Tūhoe children out of the valley.

Each marae re-enacted what had happened to their ancestors, for example bare breasted women and children were chained together, and men laid on the ground chained to stakes. The response of a number of marae at that time was to burn that flag, and it was at this time Tame Iti shot the flag.

The crown confiscated most of that land. The line became known as the aukati line (aukati = to cut, to sever). Years and years

ago, Tūhoe painted a white line across the road. When the police raided Rūātoki in October 2007, they put their roadblock on that line. This was probably deliberate, and certainly provocative. Symbolically, this re-established the power to do what they liked inside. They pointed guns at people, set up a roadblock, and took photos forcibly; all contrary to the law. They had extraordinary power.

The Police Commissioner wanted to stress that people of many ethnicities were arrested; that the operation was not targeted at Māori. But Rūātoki was the only community barricaded.

Moana said he has never seen a community as traumatised since he saw the people being dragged off Bastion Point in 1978. Children are unwell. Normally, agencies of the state respond to trauma with support; in Rūātoki it took over a year to get victim support.

Whānau have been terrorised. This is a people under siege; they are being told to 'obey the law' yet they see that 'the law' doesn't obey itself. There are layers of unwellness, there are layers of trauma.

And although the October 15th State terror raids may seem an extreme case, the trauma caused by police is a regular occurrence. People are placed under all sorts of stress. Good people, innocent people have been damaged as a result of these raids. Moana Jackson told the forum that he is unsure when this is going to end or how. If the law obeyed itself, most of the charges would be dropped.

But the damage has been done, especially in the Rūātoki Valley. Waiata Tangi have already been written. And in 100 years Tūhoe kids will remember this invasion, too.

Terror in Our Midst? A personal review

What motivated the 15 October 2007 police raids that so deeply traumatized the Tūhoe community in New Zealand's peaceful, tranquil Rūātoki Valley? While we may never know the complete answer to that question, a recently published book makes a vital contribution to our comprehension.

Of the 16 contributors to *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terror in Aotearoa New Zealand*, 14 identify themselves as Māori and four as Tūhoe. All are academics or active researchers.

From the powerful preface, 'The Constancy of Terror,' by Moana Jackson to the equally compelling epilogue by Teurikore Biddle, this essay collection enthrals the reader's attention. The editor, Danny Keenan (Ngati Te Whiti Ahi kaa, Te Atiawa) is Associate Professor of Māori Studies at Victoria University, Wellington. In addition to his excellent introductory overview, 'Searching for Terror,' Professor Keenan contributed two additional chapters.

The essays are organized in three major sections that situate the event in historic, social, political and international contexts. The first, 'The Past as Present,' presents three essays that assist the reader in understanding relations between Tūhoe and the crown. These historical excursions are invaluable in setting the stage for part two.

In the second section, 'The Raids and Responses,' seven essayists consider the impact of the raids from a variety of perspectives. Among these are views from members of parliament, the media and the police. In addition, several of the essays deal with issues of the criminalisation of dissent, the logic of terror and the protection of crown sovereignty.

Finally in part three, 'Reflections,' four powerful essayists share their personal views on this latest assault on the struggle for Māori self-determination. 'The Emperor's New Clothes' is an example of one contributor's effort to make sense of the 15 October 2007 raids that defy easy explanations.

While I found value in each of the contributions, Brendan Hokowhitu's 'The Logic of Terror' essay resonated most powerfully with me. Provocatively, he introduced his essay as follows:

"Non-discursively or intuitively, it seems to me that the terror raids on 15 October 2007 were inevitable. The subjugation of Māori via NZ's juridical system and, specifically, under the confining discourse of 'terror suppression' feels logical within the context of the 'age of terror.'"

Inevitable? Initially, Professor Hokowhitu makes a distinction between notions of terror and the *logic of terror*. In the latter, which appears in italics, he defines it as the "pre-emptive assertion of the will of the powerful over typi-

cally 'othered' groups..." I interpret this as the crown over Tūhoe.

From his powerful introduction to logic, Professor Hokowhitu proceeds to a discussion of an alternative way to analyze power in which the tactics of oppression are unmasked. From there, he considers the exponential increase in and the pervasiveness of the logic of terror in the post-9/11 era. Subsequently, he discusses the issues of human rights and the 'Other' and the construction of a new morality in which "savage acts of invasion are insidiously normalized." He further warns that the terror raids violated the civil rights of all New Zealanders.

Importantly, Professor Hokowhitu posits that the alignment of Māori radicalism alongside terrorism redefines Aotearoa power balance with regard to ethnic relations. Indeed, he argues that by symbolising the 15 October invasion as the suppression of terrorism, the dominant discourse now aggressively nurtures fear of 'Otherness.'

Finally and most chillingly, he analyzes the implications for self-governance through the logic of terror. In a concluding paragraph of power to rival his introduction, Professor Hokowhitu wrote:

"In relation to the 15 October 2007 terror raids, what is most frightening is not the raids themselves but the idea that such 'power' is possible; that power based on the *logic of terror* so fervently entered NZ's political context; that the way in which we politically govern ourselves, especially in relation to Otherness, now has a political intelligibility based on the logic of terror."

Terror in our Midst? was published by HUIA Publishing in September 2008.



Remember the State Terror Raids on Te Urewera...

October 15th Solidarity newsletter

10 December

Campaign update

Issue 9

Rūātoki raids a 'pre-emptive strike'

Speaking at a public meeting in Wellington, Associate Professor of Anthropology Dr. Jeff Sluka said that while the raids certainly were part of a history of racist actions by police against Māori, they must also be seen through the lens of the current 'war on terrorism'. "Post 9/11, governments have militarized police and moved them towards counter-insurgency methods. The Urewera raids from that perspective were not so much a police action as a 'pre-emptive counter-insurgency strike'." As we all now know from the

parallel between New Zealand and Northern Ireland, and was sensationally quoted in the *Evening Post*, under the front page headline 'Protester predicts violence in NZ', warning of the development of an "IRA-type situation in this country unless the Government hands back land and authority taken from Māori last century." This is the sort of action or 'intelligence' the SIS no doubt relied on as 'evidence' of the subversive intentions or potential of Tūhoe activists, which subsequently was used to rationalise defining them as 'terror suspects' and thereby justify the police



invasion of Iraq, 'pre-emptive strikes' are the term used by the US to justify attacking anything that they label as a threat.

Dr. Sluka further explained that Tūhoe were targeted (in particular the people in the Rūātoki Valley) because they were Tūhoe. Many Tūhoe talk plainly of a Tūhoe nation and their desire for sovereignty. They can be labeled a threat to the stability of the state. The state is then justified in attacking them in order to maintain peace. "Because of 'Tūhoe nationalism' the state intelligence services and security forces, apparently, view Tūhoe as essentially 'pre' or 'potentially' insurgent (i.e. 'separatist'), hence counterinsurgency tactics, justified as 'counterterrorism,' are adopted," said Dr. Sluka.

There are urban legends about Māori radicals arming themselves. In July 1999, Tūhoe activist Te Kaha drew a

raids as 'counterterrorism' under the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002.

Dr. Sluka warned that "if the state labels you a terrorist, you should be afraid because it is a pre-cursor to an act of state violence against you." Drawing on his experience in Northern Ireland, he explained that "terrorism as we now know it was entirely the creation of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher for a particular political purpose." Thatcher re-branded the war in Northern Ireland as 'terrorism', and made claims that the IRA was 'terrorising' its own people. Following that, the British military was given a free hand in order to suppress the IRA. This in turn simply had the effect of generating far greater community support for the IRA and drawing people to its cause.

Sluka said he views the raids as a terrible mistake which if anything, increased the threat of political violence or 'terrorism' not reduced it.

Kia ora,

This newsletter is from www.October15thSolidarity.info We send out irregular updates on the campaign to support the people arrested in the so-called 'anti-terror' raids in Aotearoa (New Zealand) on 15 October 2007, 19 February and 17 April 2008.

There are Solidarity crews working around the country. If you would like to get involved or start your own solidarity crew, email info@october15thsolidarity.info for more details. You can make a financial donation to the campaign by direct deposits or automatic payments at any Kiwibank, Account name: October 15 Solidarity, Account Number: 38-9007-0239672-000. Please specify if the money is for 'legal defence', for 'arrestee support' or for 'campaign work'. Cheques made out to 'October 15 Solidarity' can be posted to October 15 Solidarity, PO Box 9263, Wellington, New Zealand. If you would like to submit writing, photos, stories, or responses please get in touch! info@october15thsolidarity.info
www.october15thsolidarity.info

National's Nightmare

The National Government thrives on the paranoia of 'crime.' They know the benefits of keeping the knee jerk reaction to 'crime' alive and strong. They know the short-term gravy train that can be made from 'Law and Order.' They know that by making prison and punishment the first response to social problems, the status quo is maintained.

John Key and his buddies are already promising that by the new year there will be major changes in 'Law and Order.' They want to lock up more people, and one of the first things they are doing is repealing the current bail laws. National want a law that says bail will not be given to someone 'if there is

perceived to be any risk to the public.' They seem to be forgetting that people charged with offences are also members of the public; they also seem to be forgetting that 30% of people currently remanded in custody are found innocent when they finally appear in court. They also seem to be forgetting about the racist nature of our justice system – the majority of people passing through the courts are not the peers of John Key and his mates.

New Zealand already has an appalling rate of imprisonment; it's one of the highest in the world. In September 2007, there were 8,372 prisoners and approximately 31,800 offenders serving community-based sentences and orders. That is 197 people for every 100,000 in the country. New Zealand has far more people in prison than in what might be described as 'comparable countries' such as England (151), Canada (123) and Australia (130). And the prison population is continuing to grow. The Corrections Department is quick to admit, "New Zealand's use of imprisonment is probably the second highest in the Western world and further growth in our imprisonment rate is expected in the next ten years."

Locking more people up is going to do nothing to make anyone's community safer; locking people up only widens the net. More

prisons do not mean a decrease in crime – if prison worked, California would have one of the lowest rates of crime in the world. Instead, cash-strapped California is now busy releasing many of the people it imprisoned during its 'Three Strikes and You're Out' crusade against crime. The state of California has finally realized that if it continues to lock people up non-stop, it'll go broke. Like war, prison is ultimately an expensive exercise.

The National Government is focused on whipping up a mass hysteria about crime. Once the bail laws are strengthened, the number of people in prison will increase significantly. To cope with this, National has already drawn up plans to build a new prison.

They say it will hold over 570 men, will be built by 2011, and it'll be privatized.

Other changes this government wants to bring in within the first 100 days in power, also include some very frightening moves:

- changing

bail laws to require only that there is 'a risk' to the public rather than a 'real or substantial risk' to refuse bail, meaning more people sitting in prison before even being tried

- allowing police to take DNA samples from all those arrested, on the same basis as fingerprints.

- widening the jurisdiction of the Youth Court and giving it the power to impose longer sentences.

- an extra \$50 levy on all people appearing in court to go towards a victim compensation fund.

- on-the-spot domestic violence protection orders.

- increasing maximum sentences for crimes against children.

We must resist moves by the state for the compulsory taking of our DNA. We must stop plans to build a new prison. The National government needs to be watched at all times. We cannot let them drag this land into an even more punitive and intolerant place than it is already in.



Fire and Flames against the Repression

Solidarity with Axel, Florian and Oliver



On 25th September the trial against three activists from the radical left—Axel, Florian and Oliver—started in Berlin. They are on trial for allegedly attempting an arson attack on army vehicles located on the grounds of a weapons manufacturer. They are also charged with being a member of an organised criminal group known as the 'militant group' (MG). The MG, which has been in existence since 2001, has claimed more than 20 arson attacks on installations of the State and capital. The group has also engaged in the debate about militant tactics.

The German equivalents to the New Zealand 'Terrorism Suppression Act' are paragraphs 129, 129a and b of the criminal code. These paragraphs, partly a response to urban guerilla groups like the Red Army Faction in the 1970s, can result in prison sentences of up to 10 years for membership of criminal or

terrorist group. Through these laws, State organs have been able to use massive surveillance measures such as bugging phones and email accounts, using tracking devices and installing cameras outside activists' homes just as the police did during 'Operation 8' in New Zealand.

In Stuttgart-Stammheim five leftists from Turkey are currently on trial for alleged membership of the Revolutionary Peoples Liberation Front (DHKP/C). This is the first big trial against a leftist organisation in which the new paragraph 129b ('Membership of a foreign terrorist organisation'), introduced in 2001, is being used. This trial against the immigrant leftists will certainly not be the last. A further investigation is running, for example against ten people of Federation of Workers from Turkey (ATIF), who are charged with alleged membership of the Turkish Communist Party/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML). Similar repression is experienced by Kurdish activists. The Kurdish Worker Party (PKK) has been designated as a 'criminal organisation' for 15 years.

As radical leftists we are against the capitalist order of society in which those at the top exploit those at the bottom. Obviously, the State with its instruments of repression such as the police and courts will try to obstruct and destroy our resistance.

The State's monopoly on violence exists to secure the ruling status quo.

Along with social inequality in Germany, the extent of surveillance and repression has grown too. In the past few years new

laws have been introduced which reduce democratic rights and extend the surveillance state. They include a new data saving law, the destruction of the right to assemble, new digital bugging laws and tracking laws.

The goal of our political struggle is a society without exploitation and oppression, a society in which production is determined by needs and not profit. This is a society whose means of production are available to the people, who can collectively decide what to produce and not simply to a small minority as is the case today. But the ruling class will not voluntarily give up their power and their property, but will attempt to defend their rule by any means. We must therefore be conscious that our groups and communities will continue to be targets of State repression and we must try to defend ourselves against surveillance.

We are fighting against a system that continues to produce crisis after crisis. Capitalist logic offers no real ways out of a situation apart from through war and destruction. The current global economic crisis demonstrates the catastrophic consequences of an economic system based solely on profit. The state is simply a tool of the rich, and it serves their interests. The costs of the crisis are carried by people dependent on wages.

Our struggle is therefore not only aimed against the repression, but also for a classless society based on solidarity. Solidarity with political prisoners and everybody affected by the repression play an important

role in the struggle, for only together and on an international basis can we effectively oppose the repressive blows.

Solidarity with Axel, Florian and Oliver!

Away with §129, 129a and b!

Away with the TSA!

Freedom for all political prisoners!

Smash Capitalism!

Construct Solidarity!

For more info on the case email:
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Legal Update – December 2008

In November, the crown brought new charges of 'participation in a criminal group' against five people arrested in the nation-wide State Terror raids of 15 October 2007. These five people are Tame Iti, Rangi Kemara, Tuhoe Lambert, Emily Bailey and Urs Signer. These five and the remaining 13 other defendants are all charged with possession of weapons and possession of restricted weapons (molotov cocktails).

On 18 November, the Crown made an application to the Auckland High Court to have all of the proceedings transferred there, instead of heard in the district court. The application was opposed by all but one of the defendants' lawyers and has been adjourned until March 2009.

There are a number of legal matters that need to be addressed over the coming months including applications of 'no case to answer' for particular charges (in essence that there is no evidence) and application relating to inadmissibility of evidence.

At present, all such applications are on hold until a decision on where the case will be heard is made. Stay tuned to the website www.October15thSolidarity.info for updates on the legal situation. In the meantime, organise a solidarity action or fundraiser in your neighborhood!